Retention of Ethnic Cultural Values and Assimilation: Japanese Americans in Chicago

Noriko O. Tsuya*

This study explores the multidimensional nature of assimilation by analyzing the relationship between retention of ethnic cultural values of Japanese Americans in Chicago and their assimilation into American society. Assimilation has traditionally been considered in terms of a linear model, according to which an acquisition of a new culture means the replacement of the old one. However, the nature and rate of assimilation of a minority group are influenced by the ethnic culture, and similarity to the host culture may facilitate assimilation. In the case of Japanese Americans, many of their ethnic cultural values (e. g., high esteem on education, diligence, social success, adaptiveness, conformity and compromise, duty to the family and the community, and quietness and group harmony) do not seem to differ markedly from those of the average American. Therefore, we can assume that retention of ethnic cultural values of the Japanese American may have in some way helped their assimilation into American society. We

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will examine the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and different aspects of assimilation through an analysis of the Japanese American community in Chicago using a non-linear model.

Historical Background

Before discussing the details of the analyses, we first examine the historical background of Japanese Americans in Chicago in order to gain further understanding of the ethnic community and to put this study into broader historical perspective.

Japanese Immigration and Settlement on the West Coast (1885-1942)

A large-scale Japanese immigration started in 1885, when the Japanese government finally allowed Japanese to leave their country after almost 300 years of prohibition. From 1885 on, thousands of young Japanese men came to the West Coast, replacing Chinese immigrants whose further immigration had been prohibited and whose stay had been discouraged by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. According to Kitano (1976), between 1890 and 1900, approximately 22,000 Japanese came to the American mainland.

From 1900 to 1924, more Japanese immigrated into America. The 1920 population census indicates that there were 111,010 Japanese on the mainland, approximately 85 percent of whom lived on the West Coast (i. e., the States of California, Oregon and Washington). Since there were relatively few job opportunities in cities, and most of the early Japanese immigrants came from agricultural background, the majority (approximately two -thirds) of the immigrants eventually moved into agriculture after initial (and mostly brief) employment as laborers on the railroads, in logging, or in mining that had been held previously by Chinese workers.

While Japanese participation in agriculture kept growing, the ethnic community was subjected to severe legal discrimination.

Specifically, legal ownership of land by Japanese immigrants was prohibited by the California Alien Land Bill of 1913. Moreover, the total exclusion from the racial quota by the Immigration Act of 1924 completely stopped Japanese immigration until 1952 when the quota was repealed by the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act (Kitano, 1976).

In spite of these legal hardships, Japanese immigrants, who had started

out as hired laborers at farms, gradually began to work on their own land. Japanese farmers came to raise 42 percent of California's truck crops by 1941 (Osako, 1979). Similarly, their urban counterpart, who made up one -third of the immigrant population, progressed from hired hands and apprentices to owners of small business operations such as fruit stands, restaurants, laundries and barbershops (Miyamoto ; Osako, 1979).

Although the Japanese immigrants had a certain extent of economic success mentioned above, however, they (and their children) suffered from overall discrimination and strong anti-Japanese sentiment on the basis of race, nationality and ethnicity throughout the pre-World War II days. Consequently, the Japanese built exclusive ethnic community for mutual aid and protection against the uncertainties of these discriminatory and frequently hostile environments. Many students of Japanese American studies suggest that the solidarity and cooperation existed in the exclusive ethnic community contributed much to survival of the ethnic group. For example, Japanese farmers, living in clusters, not only exchanged information about land availability, leasing opportunity and market conditions, but also pooled money to purchase land and farm equipment, eventually developing a business structure that could handle all aspects of agricultural operations, such as seed and fertilizer purchase, farming, harvesting, retailing and wholesaling (Kitano, 1976 ; Osako, 1979).

For commercial establishments of urban Japanese business, the ethnic community was also the major source of both customers and suppliers. For example, Japanese restaurants used Japanese laundries, Japanese food suppliers, employed Japanese cooks and waitresses, and catered to Japanese customers (Miyamoto). In summary, for several decades before World War II, the Japanese community had functioned largely as a self-sufficient and self-contained "ghetto," relatively isolated from the larger society.

Evacuation (1942-1946)

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, provided a strong incentive for the victory for anti-Japanese forces in America. The outbreak of the war dealt a final blow to the Japanese who already possessed the handicaps of race and nationality, compounded by social and legal discrimination, and had been isolated from the dominant community. On January 29, 1942, the first of a series of orders by U. S. Attorney General

Francis Biddle established security areas along the Pacific Coast that required the removal of all enemy aliens from these areas. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which : (1) designated military areas where military commanders could exclude a certain group of people ; and (2) authorized the building of relocation camps to house these people excluded. On March 2, 1942, General John DeWitt, then the commander in charge of the Western Defense Area, issued an order to evacuate all persons of "Japanese ancestory" (defined as children with as little as one-eighth Japanese blood) from the western half of the three West Coast states and the southern third of Arizona (Kitano, 1976).

All these evacuation procedures were controlled by the Army ; and by August 7, 1942, more than 110,000 (87 percent) of the 126,000 Japanese in the United States were removed from their homes. The subsequent evacuation proceeded through two stages : first into temporary assembly centers under the control of the Army and the Wartime Civilian Control Agency ; and then, under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), to more permanent camps which were located in remote and barren areas in California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Arkansas. Of this group of Japanese, approximately two-thirds were United States citizens (Kitano, 1976). Although the wartime evacuation brought overwhelming material and spiritual damages to Japanese Americans, and in many ways relocation camps had the characteristics of a prison ; in some other ways, the life in the camp was different from that in a prison. The WRA kept the family as the basic unit and actually took the initiative in moving the Japanese American out of the relocation camps (Kitano, 1976 ; Osako, 1979).

As early as 1942, when it became clear that there were no real grounds for the Japanese American's threat to national security, the WRA started planning to move Japanese Americans in the camps to regions other than the West Coast. The group of camp residents who left first were Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) students attending colleges in the Midwest and East. Other Nisei followed, helped by the WRA, Christian churches and civic associations in finding employment and housing. Finally, the Issei (immigrant-generation) parents followed their children. One by one, they moved to cities like Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, New York and

Chicago (Fujii, 1968 ; Osako, 1979).

Meanwhile, the relocation camps were brought to an end as a result of the lawsuits taken to the Supreme Court by a handful of Japanese Americans who resisted the evacuation. After the Supreme Court ruling of December 18, 1944, that the WRA had no right to detain loyal American citizens in camps, the commander of the Western Defense Area announced that the West Coast mass exclusion orders would be revoked, effective January 2, 1945. It meant closing of the evacuation camps before the end of 1945 and termination of the entire program by the middle of June, 1946 (Kitano, 1976). Thus, by 1946, Japanese Americans again became a legitimate part of American society. Although many returned to the West Coast, a considerable number of Japanese Americans relocated on the Eastern seaboard and in the Midwest, notably Chicago.

Resettlement in Chicago (1943-1960)

There was a small Japanese population in Chicago before World War II. In 1927, there were only around 300 Japanese nationals in the city. They worked mostly in small shops and restaurants. The size of the ethnic group grew slowly. In 1940, the Japanese American population in Chicago was approximately 400. Unlike their West-Coast counterpart, Chicago Japanese Americans could continue to live without public persecution during World War II (Fujii, 1968).

The first arrival of relocation camp residents in Chicago was recorded on June 12, 1942. A substantial migration took place from March of the following year through 1950, aided largely by the Chicago Office of the War Relocation Authority, the Advisory Committee for Evacuees that was formed by religious organizations, and some civic or social welfare organizations as well as Chicago "Old Timers" (i. e., Japanese who have been living in Chicago since the pre-World War II days)(Fujii, 1968).

Out of 110,000 interned, nearly 30,000 Japanese Americans moved to Chicago. Many settled in Chicago permanently, but almost half of the 30,000 returned to the West Coast after the region was freed from being classified as a militarily sensitive zone in September, 1945. This westward exodus ended by 1960, stabilizing the population of the ethnic community in Chicago at approximately 15,000 (Fujii, 1968 ; Osako, 1979).

With regard to the reasons for the massive migration of Japanese Amer-

icans to Chicago and their successful settlement in the city, there seem to be three major factors. First, Japanese Americans were prohibited by the Army from returning to the West Coast (which was classified as a militarily sensitive zone) when the WRA decided to relocate Japanese evacuees out of the camps in 1942. Second and related reason for the Japanese migration to Chicago was the fact that the city was large enough to absorb the massive ethnic influx. When the WRA first allowed Japanese evacuees to relocate, many of them moved to Denver, Colorado, because of its geographic proximity to the camps as well as the existence of a Japanese American community in the city. However, this influx caused some racial tension in Denver which had a population of 400,000 at that time. Moreover, the visible concentration of the Japanese population in the middle-sized city posed a conflict over the relocation plan of the WRA, which regarded the concentration as a reproduction of the prewar situation on the West Coast, resulting in prohibition of further Japanese migration to the Rocky Mountain area. Therefore, Japanese Americans started moving to Chicago, which was the second largest city in the nation with a metropolitan population of 6,000,000 at that time. Since there seemed to be no danger for the Japanese to cause a serious racial problem in the large city, the WRA supported the migration of Japanese evacuees to Chicago.

The final reason for the Japanese migration to Chicago was ample job opportunity in the city. Unlike Detroit or Pittsburgh whose main industries were heavy defense-related ones, Chicago had various light manufacturing and service industries, such as clothing, printing, furniture and cabinet making, bookbinding and hotels. Since these small enterprises were suffering from a labor shortage during the war, they welcomed Japanese migration. Although the Issei were mostly farmers or small shopkeepers, with few industrial skills and little English language proficiency, they had manual dexterity. They provided a valuable labor force to craft factories. Since all the Japanese women had taken sewing lessons in their young days, they were highly skilled seamstresses (Fujii, 1968).

For these reasons, a considerable number of Japanese Americans moved to Chicago. Although approximately half of them moved back to the West Coast after the war, the other half has settled down in Chicago. And these migrants have done considerably better economically than their counterparts on the West Coast. According to Kitano (1976 : 91-92), when one

heard of a Japanese American in an administrative, executive, or prominent position, it was highly probable that he/she was working east of the Mississippi. Evidence also indicates that Japanese Americans in Chicago have enjoyed higher income levels than those returned to the West Coast. According to the 1960 census data, for example, the median income of Japanese Americans in Chicago age 35-44 was $ 5,178, compared with $ 4, 887 for those in New York, and $ 4,555 for those in California. The 1970 census data indicate that the median Japanese male income in Chicago was $ 8,295, while the corresponding figures for New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles were $ 7,829, $ 7,377 and $ 7,209, respectively.

Geographical Movement of Japanese Americans in Chicago (1943-)

In this final subsection, we will trace geographical movement of Chicago Japanese Americans during the period after 1942 in detail. Review of the relevant literature and analyses of the census data indicate that we can divide the geographical movement into three stages: (1) settlement in the Japanese "slums" (1943-1951); (2) movement to the north side of Chicago (1951-1968); and (3) dispersion to the northern suburbs (1968-).

Settlement in the Japanese "slums" (1943-1951). When Japanese Americans moved from the internment camps into Chicago, they built communities in the following three areas: Hyde Park-Kenwood; Near North Side; and Uptown. The Japanese community in the south side of Chicago extended from Oakland to Kenwood-Hyde Park, and further to Woodlawn (i. e., from 35th Street South to 65th Street South),with Cottage Grove Avenue as the west border of the community. It is believed that Japanese Americans could find housing relatively easily in Hyde Park-Kenwood because the area is close to the University of Chicago and many highly educated progressive Jews were living there (Fujii, 1968).

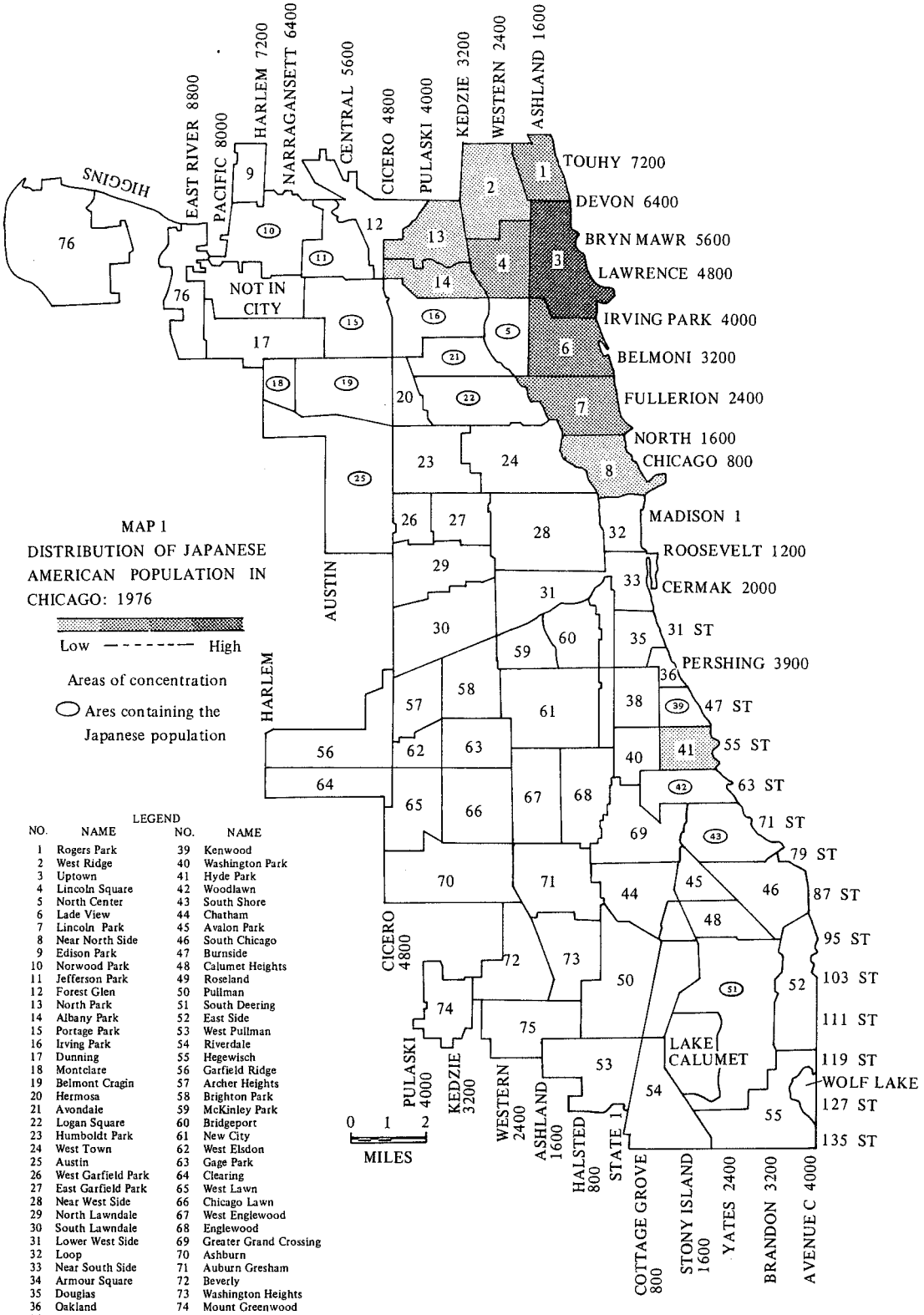
The Near North Side community of Japanese Americans extended from Chicago Avenue to North Avenue, centering around Clark Street. As Zorbaugh (1929) described, the area was a mixture of commercial and industrial districts with low residential values, and various ethnic groups moved into the area and built their communities. In this sense, this area is thought to have been relatively open to in-migration of a new ethnic group. In addition, many Chicago "Old Timers" were living in Near North Side at that time, operating restaurants and small shops. Accordingly, some

Japanese resettlers started opening Japanese restaurants and groceries, making the area centering around Clark and Division Streets the "Japanese Town" in Chicago (Fujii, 1968).

Japanese migrants also built a small community in the Uptown area. Although the specific reason for Japanese migration into this area is unclear, the area seems to have possessed a leniency toward racial minorities, as indicated by the existence of a small black residential district in the primarily white area. Uptown is also one of the areas in which Puerto Ricans first settled when they started migrating into Chicago (Fujii, 1968).

Among these three geographical areas described above, Hyde Park-Kenwood had the largest Japanese American population. Before the massive movement to the north side of Chicago in the early 1950s, approximately half of the Chicago Japanese American was living in this area, and many of the ethnic community organizations were located there. For example, the Buddhist Temple of Chicago was first built in Hyde Park ; the *Chicago Shimpo* (Chicago Japanese American News) had its first office in Kenwood ; and several Japanese Christian churches were located in Hyde Park, Kenwood and Woodlawn (Fujii, 1968). However, in 1951, this concentration of Japanese Americans in the south side started dwindling because of an inflow of blacks into the area due to destruction of the central part of the black belt, creating an exodus of Japanese Americans to the north side of Chicago.

Movement to the north side of Chicago (1951-1968). When Japanese Americans settled in Hyde Park-Kenwood during and immediately after World War II, Cottage Grove Avenue and 35th Street were respectively the eastern and southern borders of the black belt. However, destruction of the central part of the belt (i. e., the area between 30th and 35th Streets) by the Urban Renewal Plan in 1951, combined with the rapid black population growth after the war, resulted in the influx of thousands of blacks into the Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Consequently, most of the Japanese population in the south side moved north, and the new "Japanese Town" was built in the Lakeview area centering around Newport and North Clark Streets. Some Japanese Americans also started moving into Uptown and the area further north, Rodgers Park. An analysis of the 1970 census data (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972, 1973) by the writer showed that this Japanese exodus to the north side of Chicago subsided in 1964.



MAP 1
DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE AMERICAN POPULATION IN CHICAGO: 1976

Low ——————— High

Areas of concentration

Ares containing the Japanese population

LEGEND

NO.	NAME	NO.	NAME
1	Rogers Park	39	Kenwood
2	West Ridge	40	Washington Park
3	Uptown	41	Hyde Park
4	Lincoln Square	42	Woodlawn
5	North Center	43	South Shore
6	Lade View	44	Chatham
7	Lincoln Park	45	Avalon Park
8	Near North Side	46	South Chicago
9	Edison Park	47	Burnside
10	Norwood Park	48	Calumet Heights
11	Jefferson Park	49	Roseland
12	Forest Glen	50	Pullman
13	North Park	51	South Deering
14	Albany Park	52	East Side
15	Portage Park	53	West Pullman
16	Irving Park	54	Riverdale
17	Dunning	55	Hegewisch
18	Montclare	56	Garfield Ridge
19	Belmont Cragin	57	Archer Heights
20	Hermosa	58	Brighton Park
21	Avondale	59	McKinley Park
22	Logan Square	60	Bridgeport
23	Humboldt Park	61	New City
24	West Town	62	West Elsdon
25	Austin	63	Gage Park
26	West Garfield Park	64	Clearing
27	East Garfield Park	65	West Lawn
28	Near West Side	66	Chicago Lawn
29	North Lawndale	67	West Englewood
30	South Lawndale	68	Englewood
31	Lower West Side	69	Greater Grand Crossing
32	Loop	70	Ashburn
33	Near South Side	71	Auburn Gresham
34	Armour Square	72	Beverly
35	Douglas	73	Washington Heights
36	Oakland	74	Mount Greenwood
37	Fuller Park	75	Mogan Park
38	Grand Boulevard	76	O'Hare

Dispersion to the northern suburbs (1968-). In 1968, a massive movement of Japanese Americans to the further north side and the northern suburbs of Chicago started. According to the findings of the analyses of 1970 census (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972, 1973) and the Japanese directory published by the *Chicago Shimpo* in 1976 (Chicago Shimpo, 1976), the highest concentration of the Japanese population in the city of Chicago was in Uptown. High concentration was also seen in Rodgers Park, Lakeview and Lincoln Park. (See Map 1.)

The analyses also indicate that more than one-third (around 38 percent) of the Chicago Japanese Americans also migrated into northern suburbs such as Evanston, Skokie and Des Plaines after 1968, due probably to loosening of racial barriers in the suburbs and the Japanese American's achievement of middle-class status in American society. According to Osako (1979), the Japanese suburbanites are in general younger, better educated, and have higher incomes, compared with their city counterpart. They are predominantly white-collar workers or professionals, and their move to the suburbs was motivated primarily by their desire for better education of their children. The writer's analysis of the 1970 census data (1972, 1973) also indicates that approximately 95 percent of the Japanese population who moved into the suburbs are the Nisei and the Sansei (third-generation). Hence, the trend of the Japanese American migration into the suburbs is thought to continue in the future.

Theoretical Development

This study examines the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and assimilation of Japanese Americans through an analysis of the Japanese American community in Chicago. In this section, we first review the literature on assimilation and traditional Japanese cultural values. We then derive specific hypotheses for this study. Finally, we conclude the section by operationalizing the independent and dependent variables.

Ethnic Cultural Values and Assimilation: Review of the Literature

Assimilation is a blanket term which in reality covers a multitude of subprocesses. While there are many models to explain a process of assimila-

tion, Gordon (1964) has constructed a paradigm which seems to be most systematic for understanding and measuring the underlying components of assimilation. His paradigm identifies seven dimensions of assimilation --cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic.[1] According to Gordon (1964 : 71), not only is an assimilation process mainly a matter of degree, but also each dimension of the process may take place in varying degrees. Among these subprocesses or stages in the assimilation process, Gordon (1951, 1964 : 81) argued that structural assimilation, especially on the primary-group level, is crucial to the entire process of assimilation. Cultural assimilation does not necessarily lead to structural assimilation. However, not only does structural assimilation necessarily lead only to cultural assimilation but also to the subsequent stages of assimilation, and to disappearance of the ethnicity of individuals and groups (Gordon, 1964 : 81). In this sense, Gordon's paradigm can be regarded as a kind of stage theory, although the first stage of assimilation can be either cultural or structural.

While Gordon (1951, 1964) regarded the distinction between cultural and structural assimilation as the keystone of the entire process of assimilation, Hirata (1971) found through her study of integration of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii that in the case of the assimilation of Japanese Americans, crucial distinction can be made between sociocultural and psychological levels. That is, utilizing Gordon's terminology, concerning assimilation of the Japanese American, crucial distinction should be made between cul-

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1 Cultural assimilation, which is the first stage of Gordon's paradigm, refers to change from the cultural patterns of the immigrant group to those of the host society. Structural assimilation, the second stage, includes large-scale entrance into clubs, organizations and institutions of the host society on a primary group level. Marital assimilation is characterized by large-scale intermarriage between members of the host society and those of the immigrant group. According to Gordon (1964 : 80), marital assimilation is almost an inevitable byproduct of structural assimilation. Identificational assimilation refers to development of a sense of "peoplehood" based exclusively on the host society. The loss of a separate ethnic identity in turn brings an end to prejudice, discrimination, and value and power conflicts involving the group, which are the last three stages of Gordon's paradigm (i. e., attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic), since all become members of the "in-group."

tural/structural assimilation and identificational assimilation. As many studies (Kitano, 1976 ; Levine and Montero, 1973 ; Montero, 1979 ; Osako, 1979 ; Petersen, 1966,1971) indicate, Japanese Americans, especially younger generations, are highly acculturated into American society, and they may enter frequent social interaction with members of the dominant community. Yet, at the same time, they may retain their psychological identity with their ethnic group.

Therefore, in this study, we examine the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values of Japanese Americans and two aspects of their assimilation : sociocultural and psychological. Research findings of various studies on Japanese Americans (Kikumura and Kitano, 1973 ; Levine and Montero, 1973 ; Maykovich, 1972 ; Montero, 1979 ; Osako, 1979) seem to indicate that while Japanese Americans have been socioculturally assimilated to a considerable extent into the host society, they may remain identificationally and psychologically unassimilated. In this sense, we can consider that Hirata's nonlinear model of assimilation of Japanese Americans is supported by other research findings.

Concerning traditional Japanese cultural values, six major characteristics are identified through a review of the relevant literature (Benedict, 1946 ; Iga, 1967 ; Kitano, 1976 ; Maykovich, 1972 ; Petersen, 1966). They are :

1. strong orientation toward social success ;
2. high esteem of hard work ;
3. adaptiveness to external realities ;
4. duty to the family and the community ;
5. conformity to a superior ; and
6. emphasis on group harmony and quietness.

The research findings of various empirical studies on traditional Japanese cultural values (Barnlund, 1975 ; Caudill, 1952 ; Iga, 1967 ; Maykovich, 1972 ; Schwartz, 1971) indicate that these values have provided strong incentives to the known success of Japanese Americans. The findings also revealed that strong orientation toward social success and conformity to a superior are more basic than the others, and that, except for an emphasis on group harmony and quietness, these Japanese traditional cultural values are very much shared by the dominant group.

In addition, many studies on Japanese Americans (Kiefer, 1974 ; Kitano, 1976 ; Levine and Montero, 1973 ; Maykovich, 1972) indicated that there

are considerable differences in the nature and rate of assimilation among different generational groups. Thus, since grouping of all the generational groups may produce oversimplified and misleading findings, the study population is divided into different generational groups, and generation is used as the control variable for this study.

Hypotheses

Based on the evidence suggested by the above review of the literature, we can derive one general proposition (P_g) and four hypotheses (H_1, H_2, H_3, and H_4):

P_g : The degree of retention of traditional ethnic cultural values of Japanese Americans is correlated with the degree of their assimilation.

H_1 : The higher the retention of traditional Japanese cultural values, the higher the degree of sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American.

H_2 : When generation is controlled, the relationship between traditional Japanese cultural values and sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American (H_1) remains.

H_3 : The higher the retention of traditional Japanese cultural values, the lower the degree of psychological assimilation of the Japanese American.

H_4 : When generation is controlled, the relationship between traditional Japanese cultural values and psychological assimilation of the Japanese American (H_3) remains.

Operationalization

This study examines the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values of Japanese Americans and two aspects (sociocultural and psychological aspects) of their assimilation into American society. The independent variable for the analysis is therefore retention of traditional Japanese cultural values; the dependent variable is assimilation of the Japanese American. In addition, generation is employed as a control variable to conduct more feasible analysis.

Retention of traditional Japanese cultural values. Traditional values are defined as long-continued and customary conceptions of desirable states of affairs that are utilized in selective conduct as criteria for preference or choice, or as justification for proposed or actual behavior (Schwartz, 1971). Reviewing the relevant literature, six characteristic aspects of traditional

Japanese cultural values were delineated. They are: strong orientation toward social success; high esteem of hard work; adaptiveness to external realities; duty to the family and the community; conformity to a superior; and emphasis on group harmony and quietness.

In order to measure the degree of retention of traditional ethnic cultural values, we ask respondents their opinions about six statements which show these characteristic aspects of traditional Japanese cultural values. Specifically:

1. People should give their children the best education in order to let their children have social success.
2. We should try not to depend on social welfare service, because people ought to work hard and support themselves and their families.
3. In unclear situations,we should reserve our opinions, observe the situation, then make a decision in a way which seems to cause the least conflict.
4. People should not commit deviant acts, because it brings shame not only on themselves but also on their families and the community.
5. People should raise their children with discipline and respect for authority.
6. In a group discussion, we should not talk too much and should not insist on our opinions in order to reach a resolution with the least possible tension.

A five-point Likert-type response was provided to indicate how closely each statement corresponds to the cultural values of each respondent. The higher the total score is, the more a respondent retains traditional Japanese cultural values.

Assimilation. According to Park and Burgess(1924), assimilation is defined as a process by which individuals spontaneously gain one another's language, characteristic attitudes, habits, and modes of behavior. Assimilation also refers to a process by which individuals and groups of individuals are taken over and incorporated into larger groups. The final product of the process of assimilation is the elimination of a group as a distinct cultural entity. In short, assimilation is a process by which groups with diverse beliefs and behavior patterns become absorbed into another culture and finally lose their ethnic identities.

In this study, among Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation, only the

first four are utilized since identificational assimilation (i. e., loss of a separate ethnic identity) is in reality the final stage of assimilation.[2] The four dimensions are operationalized as follows: Cultural assimilation is measured by four indicators: (1) fluency of speaking Japanese; (2) ability to read Japanese; (3) retention of Japanese first/middle name; and (4) frequency of eating Japanese food. Structural assimilation is measured by six indicators: (1) number of Japanese American clubs or organizations a respondent belongs to; (2) ethnicity of the membership of a religious institution a respondent affiliates with; (3) percentage of Japanese Americans in a respondent's neighborhood; (4) percentage of Japanese American co-workers in a respondent's place of work; (5) ethnicity of three closest friends of a respondent; and (6) frequency of visit between a respondent and his/her Japanese American relatives in the Chicago area. Marital assimilation is measured by questions on two aspects (attitudinal and behavioral aspects) of amalgamation: preference toward intermarriage of a respondent's children and ethnicity of the spouse of a respondent. Finally, identificational assimilation is measured by three indicators: (1) a respondent's self-identity; (2) existence of a special close feeling toward other Japanese Americans; and (3) frequency of a respondent's perception of being discriminated against.

Among these indicators of the four dimensions of assimilation, a distinction is then made between indicators of sociocultural assimilation and those of psychological in order to assess the non-linearity of Japanese American assimilation. Specifically, sociocultural assimilation is measured by all the indicators of cultural and structural assimilation as well as the indicator of the behavioral aspect of marital assimilation, while pyschological assimilation is measured by all the indicators of identificational assimilation and the indicator of the attitudinal aspect of marital assimilation. Summary of

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2 Gordon (1964: 80) himself indicated that once a minority group has identificationally assimilated, prejudice (attitude receptional) and discrimination (behavior receptional) are no longer major problems since all become members of the "in-group." Also, if identificational assimilation has been completed, neither value nor power conflict between a minority and the dominant groups (civic assimilation) will occur since members of the minority group have developed an "American" sense of "peoplehood" in place of their original ethnic group's.

the indicators of the four dimensions of assimilation is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Dimensions of Assimilation and Their Indicators

Dimensions of Assimilation	Indicators	Sociocultural/ Psychological
Cultural	1. Fluency of speaking Japanese	Sociocultural
	2. Ability to read Japanese	Sociocultural
	3. Retention of Japanese first or middle name	Sociocultural
	4. Frequency of eating Japanese food	Sociocultural
Structural	1. Number of Japanese American clubs or organizations a respondent belongs to	Sociocultural Sociocultural
	2. Ethnicity of the membership of a religious institution a respondent affiliates with	Sociocultural
	3. Percentage of Japanese Americans in a respondent's neighborhood	Sociocultural
	4. Percentage of Japanese American co-workers in a respondent's place of work	Sociocultural
	5. Ethnicity of three closest friends of a respondent	Sociocultural
	6. Frequency of visit between a respondent and his/her Japanese American relatives in Chicago	Sociocultural
Marital	1. Ethnicity of the spouse of a respondent	Sociocultural
	2. Preference toward intermarriage of children	Psychological
Identificational	1. Existense of a special close feeling toward other Japanese Americans	Psychological
	2. Self-identity	Psychological
	3. Frequency of a respondent's perception of being discriminated against	Psychological

Control variable : generation. Examination of the background and characteristics of Japanese Americans provide a convenient division of the Japanese American population into three distinct, relatively homogeneous groups : Issei, Nisei, and Sansei or Yonsei. Issei refers to the first-generation immigrants born in Japan ; Nisei to the second generation, born in the United States to Issei parents ; Sansei to the third generation, born in the United States to Nisei parents ; and Yonsei to the fourth generation, born in the United States to Sansei parents. In addition, this study includes two more generational groups : Kibei and new Issei. The Kibei are the Nisei who were sent back to Japan at an early age for socialization and schooling ; the new Issei are the Japanese immigrants who came to the United States after the passage of the McCarran-Water Bill in 1952.[3] According to Kitano (1976 : 4-5), generation is especially relevant when discussing the Japanese American. Not only is generational reference used to provide an appropriate term for classification, it is also used to refer to character types and behavior.

Data and Methods

The data for this study were collected in the fall of 1980, employing opportunity sampling technique. Specifically, the writer pursued access to occasions in which considerable numbers of the members of three major generational groups (i. e., Issei, Nisei, and Sansei or Yonsei) of the Chicago Japanese American community gather. The initial data collection was conducted by distributing self-administered questionnaires before and after Sunday services of two religious institutions of the Chicago Japanese

3 This study differentiates the Kibei from the Nisei primarily because the Kibei are thought to be much less acculturated than their Nisei peers. Specifically, since the practice of sending children back to Japan for education was most popular between 1920 and 1940, which was the period of rampant nationalism in Japan, many Kibei returned to the United States with strong patriotic feelings toward Japan. On the other hand, the new Issei are separated from the original Issei because they are a more heterogeneous group in terms of age, sex, social class, and residential background. Moreover, the new Issei came to the United States at a time when the social and economic conditions of the Japanese American improved considerably. In this sense, they may have more in common with the Nisei than the original Issei.

American community (the Buddhist Temple of Chicago and the Christ Church of Chicago). However, since the majority of the members of these religious institutions are Nisei, the vast majority of the respondents turned out to be Nisei. Accordingly, in order to remedy the shortage of the responses from the other two generational groups, other community organizations were contacted. As for the Issei, interviews in Japanese were conducted by the writer at a residence hall for the Japanese American elderly in Chicago. For the Sansei and the Yonsei, a considerable number of responses were obtained at the classes of the Japanese language school of the Buddhist Temple of Chicago. Also, some additional responses were collected through personal contacts. Altogether, the sample of 177 Japanese Americans (20 Issei, 74 Nisei, 59 Sansei (including 2 Yonsei), 17 Kibei, and 7 new Issei) was obtained.

The data were then analyzed through four stages. First, summative scales were constructed for the degrees of sociocultural and psychological assimilation as well as for retention of traditional ethnic cultural values.[4] Secondly, based on the cumulative frequencies, the summative scale scores were recoded into three larger categories labelled "low," "medium," and "high." Utilizing these recoded summative scale scores, the zero-order correlations were computed for the degree of sociocultural assimilation and retention of traditional Japanese cultural values as well as for the degree of psychological assimilation and retention of ethnic cultural values. Thirdly, first-order partials were computed by employing generation as a control variable.[5] This study utilizes the Gamma coefficient in order to measure the degree of association between the independent and dependent variables, since the variables are ordinal in nature. The level of statistical significance was tested by chi-squares. Finally, the scalabilities of the three summative scales

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4 It has to be pointed out that four of the eleven indicators of sociocultural assimilation (i. e., ethnicity of the membership of a religious institution a respondent affiliates with, percentage of Japanese American co-workers, frequency of visit with Japanese American relatives in the Chicago area, and ethnicity of a respondent's spouse) were dropped out of the summative scale due mainly to the nature of the sample.

5 Here, the two marginal generational categories (Kibei and new Issei) were combined as one category since careful examination of the frequency distributions indicated that the response patterns of the two groups were very similar.

(i. e., traditional cultural value scale, sociocultural assimilation scale, and psychological assimilation scale) were examined by using the Guttman scale technique. The Guttman scale test was conducted primarily to check the unidimensionality of the items in each of the three summative scales as well as to examine the reliability of the individual items.

Findings

An opportunity sample of 177 Japanese Americans in Chicago was

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample: Sex, Age, Generation, and Educational Level (N = 177)

Characteristic	Category	Frequency	Percent
Sex	Male	61	34.5
	Female	116	65.6
Age	Under 18	21	11.9
	19–24	16	9.0
	25–29	6	3.4
	30–39	12	6.8
	40–49	16	9.0
	50–59	59	33.3
	60–69	25	14.1
	70–79	12	6.8
	80 and over	10	5.6
Generation	Issei	20	11.3
	Nisei	74	41.8
	Sansei	57	32.2
	Yonsei	2	1.1
	Kibei	17	9.6
	New Issei	7	4.0
Education	Less than 9 years of school	4	2.3
	Partial high school	27	15.3
	High school graduation	58	32.8
	Partial college training	42	23.7
	College or university graduation	26	14.7
	Graduate professional training	18	10.2
	(Missing values)	2	(1.1)

obtained for this study. The sample consists of 20 Issei, 74 Nisei, 57 Sansei, 2 Yonsei, 17 Kibei and 7 new Issei. Basic demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 2. As shown in the table, nearly two-thirds of the sample are females, and nearly half of the sample fall in the 50-69 year-old age groups. With regard to educational level, more than 80 percent of the sample have completed high school, and approximately a quarter have at least one college degree. Considering the fact that 21 out of 41 respondents whose educational level is partial high school or less are 18 years of age or younger, it can be assumed that nearly 90 percent of the sample would ultimately have at least a high school diploma. According to the 1970 census, 20.8 percent of the Japanese Americans in the Chicago area are college graduates and 78.4 percent have a high school diploma. Thus, the educational level of the sample appears to coincide with that of the census.

Overview of Responses to the Independent Variable

The traditional cultural value scale, which is the measure of the independent variable for this study, is composed of six items : (1) strong orientation toward social success, (2) high esteem of hard work, (3) adaptiveness to external realities, (4) duty to the family and the community, (5) conformity to a superior, and (6) emphasis on group harmony and quietness. Table 3 presents the summary of the responses to the items on traditional cultural value scale. As shown in the table, except for item 6 (emphasis on group

Table 3. Responses to Items of the Traditional Cultural Value Scale (N = 177)

Item	Strongly Agree f (%)	Agree f (%)	Uncertain f (%)	Disagree f (%)	Strongly Disagree f (%)	Missing Values f (%)
1. Strong orientation toward social success	79 (44.6)	74 (41.8)	8 (4.6)	12 (6.8)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)
2. High esteem of hard work	90 (50.8)	67 (37.9)	12 (6.8)	6 (3.4)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)
3. Adaptiveness to external realities	52 (29.4)	73 (41.2)	17 (9.6)	26 (14.7)	7 (4.0)	2 (1.1)
4. Duty to the family and the community	87 (49.2)	60 (33.9)	12 (6.8)	13 (7.3)	3 (1.7)	2 (1.1)
5. Conformity to a superior	100 (56.5)	63 (35.6)	6 (3.4)	7 (4.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.6)
6. Emphasis on group harmony and quietness	21 (11.9)	46 (26.0)	22 (12.4)	58 (32.8)	30 (16.9)	0 (0.0)

harmony and quietness), the sampled Japanese Americans are consistent in their responses. That is, to the remaining five items, the majority (70-90 percent) of the respondents answered in the "strongly agree" or "agree" categories.

Thus, we can consider that the sampled Japanese Americans have retained traditional Japanese cultural values to a considerable extent.

Specifically, item 5 (conformity to a superior) has the strongest support with approximately 93 percent in the agreement or strong agreement categories. The item with the second strongest support is item 2 (high esteem of hard work) with nearly 90 percent in the agreement or strong agreement categories. Item 1 (strong orientation toward social success) and item 4 (duty to the family and the community) follow with 87 percent and 84 percent of the respondents in the agreement or strong agreement categories. Then, item 3 (adaptiveness to external realities) comes next with approximately 70 percent in agreement or strong agreement. The least supported item of the traditional cultural value scale was item 6 (emphasis on group harmony and quietness). Only 38 percent of the respondents answered in the "strongly agree" or "agree" categories. Based on the comments obtained through interviews for the pretest, or through informal conversation with some respondents, it is thought that respondents disagreed with item 6 mainly because they thought that they should speak out and insist on their opinions if they believe their opinions are right.

In addition, controlling for generation, response patterns of different generational groups are compared. The findings are two-fold : First, there is more variety in the responses and the greater departure from traditional Japanese cultural values among the younger generations. Secondly, the marginal group (Kibei and new Issei) seems to be in between the sampled Issei and Nisei in terms of consistency and supportiveness of their responses. That is, the Kibei and new Issei are more consistent in their responses and more supportive of the items of the traditional cultural value scale than the Nisei, but their responses are more varied and less traditional than those of the Issei.[6]

Overview of Responses to the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study, assimilation of the Japanese

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6 For details of the responses by generational categories, see Omori (1981 : 76-79).

American, is measured by two scales: the sociocultural assimilation scale and the psychological assimilation scale. The sociocultural assimilation scale consists of seven items: (1) fluency of speaking Japanese, (2) ability to read Japanese, (3) retention of Japanese first or middle name, (4) frequency of eating Japanese food, (5) number of Japanese American clubs or organizations a respondent belongs to, (6) percentage of Japanese Americans in the neighborhood, and (7) ethnicity of the three closest friends. Table 4 shows the summary of the responses. As shown in the table, approximately 60 percent of the sampled Japanese Americans speak little or no Japanese, while the remaining 40 percent speak Japanese very fluently or pretty well. Approximately 70 percent do not read Japanese, while the remaining 30 percent do. Only around 10 percent of the sampled does not have Japanese name as their first or middle name, while the remaining 90 percent retain Japanese first or middle name. Around 70 percent eat Japanese food at least once every two or three days; about 65 percent affiliate with at least two clubs or organizations of the ethnic community. It is also seen that the three closest friends of roughly half of the sample are all Japanese Americans, while only 9 percent answered that their three closest friends are all non-Japanese Americans. However, more than 85 percent of the sampled Japanese Americans live in a neighborhood where Japanese Americans form less than 10 percent of the population in the area. Controlling for generation, similarly to the case of the traditional cultural value scale, there is a tendency for the younger generation to be socioculturally more assimilated, and the degree of sociocultural assimilation of the marginal generational group (Kibei and new Issei) is in between those of the Issei and the Nisei.[7]

With regard to the psychological assimilation scale, the scale consists of four items: (1) preference for children's marriage with a Japanese American, (2) ethnic identity of a respondent him/herself, (3) existence of special close feeling toward other Japanese Americans, and (4) frequency of perception of being discriminated against. As shown in Table 5, approximately 60 percent of the sampled Japanese Americans still their child's marrying a Japanese American, while 30 percent is undecided and 10 percent does not prefer their child's marrying a Japanese American. Concerning self-identity, the majority (around 70 percent) of the sampled identified themselves

7 For details on the responses by generational categories, see Omori (1981: 85-90).

Table 4. Responses to Items of the Sociocultural Assimilation Scale (N = 177)

Items	Responses (f, %)				Missing Values (f, %)
1. Fluency of speaking Japanese	None 25 (14.1)	Little 77 (43.5)	Pretty good 45 (25.4)	Very fluent 30 (16.9)	0 (0.0)
2. Ability to read Japanese	No 120 (67.8)	Yes 56 (31.6)			1 (0.6)
3. Retention of Japanese first or middle name	None 20 (11.3)	Middle name 78 (44.1)	First name 77 (43.5)		2 (1.1)
4. Frequency of eating Japanese food	Once a week or less 49 (27.7)	Once every 2 or 3 days 58 (32.8)	Everyday 69 (39.0)		1 (0.6)
5. Number of JA clubs or organizations belonged to	None 25 (14.1)	One 38 (21.5)	Two or more 114 (64.4)		0 (0.0)
6. Percentage of JA in the neighborhood	Less than 10 % 151 (83.5)	10 % or higher 25 (14.1)			1 (0.6)
7. Ethnicity of the three closest friends	All non-JA 16 (9.0)	2 or 1 non-JA 68 (38.4)	All JA 90 (50.8)		3 (1.7)

Table 5. Responses to Items of the Psychological Assimilation scale (N = 177)

Items	Responses (f, %)			Missing Values (f, %)
1. Preference for children's marriage with a JA	No 22 (12.4)	Uncertain 59 (28.2)	Yes 100 (56.5)	5 (2.8)
2. Self-identity	American 11 (6.2)	Combination 125 (70.6)	Japanese 40 (22.6)	1 (0.6)
3. Existence of special close feeling to other JAs	No 21 (11.9)	Not so strong 14 (7.9)	Pretty or very strong 120 (67.8)	22 (12.5)
4. Frequency of perception of being discriminated against	Never or seldom 102 (57.6)	Sometimes or more often 64 (36.2)		18 (10.2)

as a combination of Japanese and American and approximately 6 percent as mainly American. It is also found that around 70 percent feel "very strongly" or "pretty strongly" special closeness to other Japanese Americans. As for perception of discrimination, about 60 percent answered that they "seldom" or "never" feel they are discriminated against because they are Japanese Americans, while around 40 percent "sometimes" or "very often" feel discriminated against because of their ethnicity.

In addition, controlling for generation, the responses of each generational group to the items of the psychological assimilation scale are compared and contrasted. The findings are again two-fold : First, the younger generation is more assimilated psychologically. Secondly, the degree of psychological assimilation of the Kibei and new Issei falls in between those of the Nisei and the Sansei.[8]

Guttman Scale Analysis

Scalability and reproducibility of the scales for retention of traditional Japanese cultural values, sociocultural assimilation and psychological assimilation are then tested by utilizing the Guttman scale technique. The

8 For details, see Omori (1981 : 98-104).

analysis was carried out through three stages: first, based on the pattern of responses to each item and on the cumulative frequency distributions of the three scales, a cutting point for each item was tentatively determined; then, utilizing the GUTTMAN SCALE procedure of SPSS, scales were produced for each possible combination of cutting points; finally, from those scales, one scale which seemed empirically and theoretically most feasible was chosen.

Therefore, concerning the items of the traditional cultural value scale, "pass" (score of 1) for each item was defined as the "strongly agree" responses. Table 6 presents the summary of the findings of the Guttman scale analysis of the traditional cultural value scale. As shown in the table, the items in this scale are ranked, in order of increasing difficulty in passing, as follows:

1. conformity to a superior (item 5);
2. high esteem of hard work (item 2);
3. duty to the family and the community (item 4);
4. strong orientation toward social success (item 1);
5. adaptiveness to external realities (item 3);
6. emphasis on group harmony and quietness (item 6).

Table 6. Guttman Scale Analysis: Traditional Cultural Value Scale

Items in Order of Increasing Difficulty of Passing	Passing Items	
	Number (N = 169)[a]	Percent
1. Conformity to a superior	95	56.2
2. High esteem of hard work	85	50.3
3. Duty to the family and the community	82	48.5
4. Strong orientation toward social success	75	44.4
5. Adaptiveness to external realities	51	30.2
6. Emphasis on group harmony and quietness	20	11.8
Measures of internal consistency:		
Coefficient of Reproducibility	0.8087	
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	0.6193	
Percent Improvement	0.1893	
Coefficient of Scalability	0.4974	

[a]There are eight missing values.

The range of "passes" (defined as the "strongly agree" response only) for the scale and appropriate measures of internal consistency are also presented in Table 6. The range of percent passing the items for this scale varies from 12 to 56 percent, while the suggested range of percent passing for a Guttman scale is from 20 to 80 percent. Thus, it is considered that the values of the measures of internal consistency would be somewhat inflated. The coefficient of reproducibility for this scale is 0.8087, while the coefficient of scalability is 0.4974. Although they do not reach the conventional limits to form a Guttman scale (0.9 for coefficient of reproducibility and 0.6 for scalability), these values (0.8087 and 0.4974) seem to be sufficient for the scale to be regarded as a quasi-Guttman scale.

Next, concerning the sociocultural assimilation scale, "passes" for the seven items of the scale are defined as follows: "Pass" for item 1 (fluency of speaking Japanese) is defined as indicating that they speak little or no Japanese. "Pass" for item 2 (ability to read Japanese) consists of not being able to read Japanese, and "Pass" for item 3 (retention of Japanese first or middle name) consists of not having Japanese first names. "Pass" for item 4 (frequency of eating Japanese food) is defined as eating Japanese food no more than once every two or three days; "Pass" for item 5 (number of Japanese American clubs or organizations affiliated) consists of belonging to no more than one ethnic club or organization. "Pass" for item 6 (percentage of Japanese-American neighbors) consists of living in a neighborhood where Japanese Americans form less than 10 percent of the area population. Finally, "Pass" for item 7 (ethnicity of the three closest friends) is defined as having at least one non-Japanese-American friend.

Therefore, the items are ranked, in order of increasing difficulty of passing, as follows:

1. living in a neighborhood with less than 10 percent Japanese American (item 6);
2. not being able to read Japanese (item 2);
3. speaking no or little Japanese (item 1);
4. no Japanese first name (item 3);
5. having at least one non-Japanese-American friend (item 7);
6. belonging at most one ethnic club or organization (item 5);
7. eating Japanese food no more than once every few days (item 4).

The range of "passes" (number and percent) for the sociocultural assimi-

Table 7. · Guttman Scale Analysis: Sociocultural Assimilation Scale

Items in Order of Increasing Difficulty of Passing	Passing Items	
	Number (N = 169)[a]	Percent
1. Living in a neighborhood where Japanese Americans form less than 10 % of area population	146	86.4
2. Not being able to read Japanese	114	67.5
3. Speaking no or little Japanese	95	56.2
4. Not having Japanese first name	94	55.6
5. Not having all three closest friends be Japanese Americans	81	47.9
6. Not belonging to more than one club or organization of the ethnic community	60	35.5
7. Not eating Japanese food more than once every 2 or 3 days	46	27.2
Measures of internal consistency:		
Coefficient of Reproducibility	0.7988	
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	0.6500	
Percent Improvement	0.1488	
Coefficient of Scalability	0.4251	

[a]There are eight missing values.

lation scale and appropriate measures of internal consistency are summarized in Table 7. The range of the percent passing for this scale varies from 27 to 86 percent. Although the upper limit slightly exceeded the suggested range for a Guttman scale (i. e., from 20 to 80 percent), the range of "passes" for this scale seems to be acceptable. The coefficient of reproducibility for the scale is 0.7988, and that of scalability is 0.4251. Although they do not meet the conventional limits for these statistics to form a Guttman scale, these values seem to be sufficient to make the sociocultural assimilation scale a quasi-Guttman scale.

Finally, the Guttman scale analysis was conducted for the psychological assimilation scale. "Passes" for the four items of the scale are determined as follows: "Pass" for item 1 (preference toward children's marriage with other Japanese Americans) is defined as having no such special preference.

"Pass" for item 2 is defined as identifying themselves as a combination of Japanese and American or mainly as American. "Pass" for item 3 consists of feeling little or no closeness to other Japanese Americans, and "pass" for item 4 is defined as seldom or never having felt discriminated against. Thus, in order of increasing difficulty of passing, items are arranged as follows:

1. identifying themselves as a combination of Japanese and American or mainly as American (item 2);
2. seldom or never having felt discriminated against (item 4);
3. having no special preference for their children's marriage with other Japanese Americans (item 1);
4. feeling little or no closeness to other Japanese Americans (item 3).

The range of "passes" for the psychological assimilation scale and various measures of internal consistency are presented in Table 8. As shown in the table, the range of percent passing for this scale varies from 19 to 75 percent. Although the lower limit slightly exceeds the suggested limit for a Guttman scale (20 percent), the range of percent passing for the scale approximated

Table 8. Guttman Scale Analysis: Psychological Assimilation Scale

Items in Order of Increasing Difficulty of Passing	Passing Items	
	Number (N = 137)[a]	Percent
1. Identifying themselves as a combination of Japanese and American or as mainly American	103	75.2
2. Seldom or never having felt discriminated against	81	59.1
3. Not having special preference for their children's marriage with other Japanese Americans	52	38.0
4. Feeling little or no closeness to other Japanese Americans	26	19.0
Measures of internal consistency:		
Coefficient of Reproducibility	0.8248	
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	0.6934	
Percent Improvement	0.1314	
Coefficient of Scalability	0.4286	

[a]There are 40 missing values.

the suggested 20-80 percent range. The coefficients of reproducibility and scalability for the scale are 0.8248 and 0.4286 respectively, suggesting that the psychological assimilation scale is more acceptable as a quasi-Guttman scale than the other two scales.

In summary, from the findings of the above Guttman scale analyses, it is concluded that all three scales form quasi-Guttman scales. Concerning differences in scalability among the three scales, the scalability of the psychological assimilation scale is the highest, and that of the sociocultural assimilation comes next. Since there seems to be a certain degree of inflation in the values of the measures of internal consistency of the traditional cultural value scale, its scalability seems to be the lowest. The findings of quasi-scalability provide some assurance that the scale items are reasonably reliable and uni-dimensional, but the lack of full scalability implies that the results of the subsequent cross-tabulation have to be viewed with some caution.

Analysis of the Relationship between Retention of Traditional Japanese Cultural Values and Assimilation

In order to analyze the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the summative scores for the three scales in question are first grouped into three categories labeled as "low," "medium," and "high," based on the corresponding cumulative frequency distributions. Table 9

Table 9. Theoretial Range, Actual Range, and Recoded Categories with Their Labels for Three Summative Scales

Summative Scale	Theoretical Range	Actual Range	Category with Labels	Cumulative Percent
Traditional cultural value	0–24	7–24	Low: 7–16	(30.8)
			Medium: 17–19	(69.2)
			High: 20–24	(100.0)
Sociocultural assimilation	7–28	7–28	Low: 7–16	(33.7)
			Medium: 17–19	(64.5)
			High: 20–28	(100.0)
Psychological	4–14	4–13	Low: 3–7	(36.7)
			Midium: 8–9	(78.8)
			High: 10–13	(100.0)

summarizes the theoretically possible range, actual range, and recoded categories with labels for each summative scale.

Utilizing the recoded categories presented in Table 9, crosstabulation analyses are then carried out to test two of the four hypotheses for this study:

H_1: the higher the retention of traditional Japanese cultural values, the higher the degree of sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American; and

H_3: the higher the retention of traditional Japanese cultural values, the lower the degree of psychological assimilation of the Japanese American. The results of the crosstabulation analyses for H_1 and H_3 are presented in Tables 10 and 11. As shown in Table 10, the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and sociocultural assimilation is found to be moderately negative with gamma value of -0.303. In addition, the chi-square value is 10.9 with $p=0.028$, indicating statistical significance of the finding. Therefore, the evidence fails to support the first hypothesis (H_1) at the 0.05 singificance level. In contrast, as shown in Table 11, the evidence appears to support the hypothesized negative relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and psychological assimilation (H_3). The gamma value in question is -0.406, indicating moderately negative relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The corresponding chi-square value is 14.2 with $p=0.007$, indicating statistical significance of the finding. Thus, the crosstabulation results support the second hypothesis (H_3).

Next, the effects of generation on the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and assimilation of the Japanese American are examined by computing various partial correlation tables employing generation as a control. The hypotheses on the effects of generation are:

H_2: when generation is controlled, the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American remains; and

H_4: when generation is controlled, the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and psychological assimilation of the Japanese American remains. Employing the same interval categories as utilized for the analyses of the two previous hypotheses (H_1 and H_3),

Tables 10. & 11. Crosstabulations of Two Assimilation Scales by Traditional Cultural Value Scale

Retention of Traditional Japanese Cultural Values

Degree of Sociocultural Assimilation	Low	Medium	High	Row Total
Low	13 (26.2)	17 (28.8)	22 (42.3)	52
Medium	11 (22.0)	19 (32.2)	19 (36.5)	49
High	26 (52.0)	23 (39.0)	11 (21.2)	60
Column Total	50	59	52	161

Chi-squre = 10. 89655 DF = 4 p = –0.0278
Gamma = –0.30287

Degree of Psychological Assimilation	Low	Medium	High	
Low	8 (19.0)	17 (37.0)	22 (51.2)	47
Medium	18 (42.9)	22 (47.8)	15 (34.9)	55
High	16 (38.1)	7 (15.2)	6 (14.0)	29
Column Total	42	46	43	131

Chi-square = 14.15617 DF = 4 p = –0.0068
Gamma = –0.40645

crosstabulations are computed to test the first-order partial correlations between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and the two aspects of assimilation of the Japanese American, controlling for generation. In addition, by using non-grouped scale scores, Spearman's rho and its significance level are computed for each generational category. Table 12 summarizes the results of the analyses with the two methods of correlation (i. e., crosstabulation with grouped summative scale scores and Spearman correlation with non-grouped scale scores).

Concerning the generational effects on the relationship between retention of traditional cultural values and sociocultural assimilation, comparison between the gamma values of different generational categories shown in Table 12 and that of the corresponding zero-order correlation reveals that: (1) for the Issei and the Kibei and new Issei, the correlation between the independent and dependent variables is significantly higher than that for the entire sample; (2) in contrast, correlation for the Nisei appears to be significantly lower than that for the entire sample; and (3) concerning the Sansei and Yonsei, the correlation is slighty lower but the general tendency shown in the zero-order correlation is maintained. However, since many of the cells of the crosstabulation tables for the Issei, the Sansei and Yonsei, as

Table 12. Partial Correlation for the Effect of Generation as a Control Variable on the Relationship Between Retention of Traditional Japanese Cultural Values and Assimilation

Generational Category	Gamma	Chi-squre	DF	Significance	Spearman Correlation	Significance
Sociocultural Assimilation:						
Issei	−0.750	1.969	2	0.374	−0.612	0.003
Nisei	−0.004	7.275	4	0.122	−0.026	0.417
Sansei/ Yonsei	−0.275	2.989	4	0.560	−0.002	0.495
Kibei/ New Issei	−0.528	4.293	4	0.368	−0.266	0.122
Psychological Assimilation:						
Issei	−0.489	5.298	4	0.258	−0.154	0.285
Nisei	−0.158	2.560	4	0.634	−0.139	0.149
Sansei/ Yonsei	−0.512	10.813	4	0.029	−0.336	0.017
Kibei/ New Issei	−0.677	5.808	4	0.214	−0.502	0.020

well as the Kibei and new Issei have expected cell frequencies less than 5.0, the gamma values for these generational categories are considered to be statistically unstable. Moreover, there is no significant partial correlation in terms of chi-square value at the 0.05 significance level, indicating lack of statistical significance of the findings.

The results of the Spearman correlations for the first-order partials (also shown in Table 12) indicate that, at the 0.05 significance level, only the Issei has an acceptable level of significance while the other three categories do not have an acceptable level, indicating lack of statistical significance of the findings except for the Issei. Comparing the value of Spearman's rho for each generational category with that of the entire sample, it is then found that: (1) for the Issei, the correlation between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and the degree of sociocultural assimilation is greatly strengthened; and (2) the association between the variables appears to be considerably weakened for the Nisei and for the Sansei and the Yonsei, while the degree of such decrease for the Kibei and new Issei is slight.

In summary, although most of the partials are not statistically significant, there are some, if not consistent, effects of generation on the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American, since there are considerable weakening or enhancing of the zero-order correlation in all but one of the first-order partials. Therefore, the statistical evidence appears to fail to support H_2. It is also considered that the partial correlations may become statistically significant with a larger sample.

Concerning the generational effects on the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and psychological assimilation, the analyses with the two methods of correlation (shown also in Table 12) indicate that comparing the gamma values for the partials with that for the entire sample: (1) for the Issei, the correlation is slightly strengthened whereas that for the Nisei is weakened; (2) for the Sansei and Yonsei, which is the only generational category with statistically significant chi-square value at 0.05 level, the relationship is substantially enhanced; and (3) for the Kibei and new Issei, the relationship is again considerably strengthened. However, since more than half of the cells of the crosstabulation table for all the generational categories except for the Nisei have expected cell

frequencies less than 5.0, the results of these crosstabulation analyses are statistically unstable.

From the results of the Spearman correlation analyses, we can see that two (i. e., the Sansei and Yonsei as well as the Kibei and new Issei) of the four partials are statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Comparing the Spearman's rho values of the first-order partials for these two generational groups with that of the zero-order correlation, it is then found that retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and psychological assimilation is strengthened for each category. For the remaining non-significant partials (the Issei and the Nisei), the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is considerably weakened.

In summary, concerning the generational effects on the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and psychological assimilation, it is found that although more than half of the partials are statistically insignificant, there are some effect of generation on the relationship. Therefore, the other hypothesis on the generational effect (H_4) is also rejected.

Summary and Discussion

The results of the analyses of the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and assimilation of the Japanese American in Chicago indicated a moderate but significant inverse relationship among the variables. Specifically, the analyses of the data led to the findings as follows: (1) A higher retention of traditional Japanese cultural values tends to be correlated with a lower degree of sociocultural assimilation; and (2) A higher retention of traditional Japanese cultural values tends to be correlated also with a lower degree of psychological assimilation. Therefore, of the two major hypotheses on the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and two aspects of assimilation (H_1 and H_3), we fail to support H_1 but render a support to H_3.

Turning to the effect of generation on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the following findings are made: (1) There appears to be some effect of generation on the relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and sociocultural assimilation of the Japanese American, although most of the first-order partials are

not statistically-significant. There are considerable weaking or enhancing of the zero-order correlation in all but one of the first-order partial correlations. (2) Although it is difficult to draw firm inferences since half of the partials are not statistically significant, there seems to be some effect of generation on the relationship between retention of traditional ethnic cultural values and psychological assimilation as well. Thus, in this case, we fail to support both of the hypotheses (H_2 and H_4) on the generational effects on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

Finally, concerning the scalability of the three summative scales utilized by this study (i. e., traditional cultural value scale, sociocultural assimilation scale, and psychological assimilation scale), it was found that all three scales form quasi-Guttman scales. In addition, the psychological assimilation scale is found to have the highest scalability, followed by the sociocultural assimilation scale, while the scalability of the traditional cultural value scale appears to be the lowest. Therefore, the finding of quasi-scalability provides some evidence for uni-dimensionality and reliability of the scales, but the lack of full scalability implies that the results of the above crosstabulation should be viewed with caution.

Students of Japanese American studies (Montero, 1979 ; Petersen, 1966, 1971 ; Schwartz, 1971) have argued that successful assimilation of the Japanese-Americans into American society is largely due to strong ethnic group solidarity, which has in turn been facilitated by their retention of traditional ethnic cultural values. This argument seems to explain, at least partly, the rapid upward social mobility of the Japanese American after World War II. However, it can also be considered that retention of traditional Japanese cultural values might have helped the Japanese-Americans maintain their strong ethnic group solidarity, and that the strong group solidarity might have had some adverse effects on the primary-group level interaction with the members of the dominant society. Kitano (1976 : 203) has suggested that the continued existence of ethnic structures, which has been reinforced by ethnic cultural values, may be playing a negative role when their strength pulls back the members of the ethnic community who could have ventured into the larger society. Thus, it can be argued that while retention of traditional Japanese cultural values might have facilitated socioeconomic success, it has prevented them from having primary group interaction with members of the dominant community. In this way, the

inverse relationship between retention of traditional Japanese cultural values and assimilation (sociocultural as well as psychological) is partly explained.

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